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DETENTE AND U.S. POLICY PROBLEMS

Summary

Wide-ranging comment during the weekend and today touched on detente, Secretary Simon's Middle East consultations, and speculative reports of dissension at the highest levels of the Administration.

Washington correspondents filed conflicting reports of disagreement between President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger, and between the latter and Secretary Schlesinger.

- --France-Soir of Paris carried its correspondent's report that Mr. Schlesinger, "whose star is rising, fears that Kissinger's obsession with detente is leading to a disparity unfavorable to the U.S...and Nixon...has a tendency to adopt the positions of Schlesinger and of the military."
- --The London <u>Daily Telegraph</u>'s correspondent here said of the President's letter to Senator Fulbright that Mr. Nixon "has belatedly come to the aid of Dr. Henry Kissinger...at a time of growing speculation...that a rift between Nixon and Kissinger could lead to the Secretary of State's resignation."
- --On the other hand, <u>II Messaggero</u> of Rome carried its correspondent's interpretation of the President's move as 'an appropriate intervention' in an attempt 'to save Kissinger from the general wreck of his Administration.'

Middle East media voiced divergent views of Mr. Simon's visits to Arab capitals.

Baghdad Radio said the purpose was "to specify demands that have to be met rather than to seek information," and termed the Secretary's trip "a continuation of the plotting against Arab unity."

In contrast, Ukaz of Jiddah said Mr. Simon's tour had been characterized as "a truly historic moment in the history of Middle Eastern countries," and Cairo Radio cited al-Ahram as asserting that it "could well be a landmark on the path of a U.S. contribution to the fulfillment of Egypt's goals of reconstruction and development."

Moscow media continued to praise the summit as evidence of the validity of detente. TASS reported an <u>Izvestia</u> commentary declaring it showed "that the process of normalization and improvement of relations between the two biggest powers... continues successfully."

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No. 88 1 7/15/74

Paris: "Nixon May Favor Schlesinger's Position Over Kissinger's"

French media over the weekend and today ran speculative stories suggesting that disagreement within the Administration over disarmament and detente could produce a post-Moscow "rift."

Mass-circulation France-Soir today headed a report by Washington correspondent Adalbert de Segonzac, "Nixon May Sacrifice Kissinger."

De Segonzac said President Nixon "came to Henry Kissinger's support Sunday with a letter to Senator Fulbright," but added that "the letter has been very late in coming." He said the move "does not modify the impression in Washington of a Secretary of State in difficulty: His star is waning, his authority with the President is becoming blunted." He stated further:

"Kissinger's pre-eminent standing with Nixon is now being challenged. Defense Secretary Schlesinger, whose star is rising, fears that Kissinger's obsession with detente is leading to a disparity unfavorable to the United States in the field of strategic arms. And Nixon, who needs 34 conservative votes in the Senate... has a tendency to adopt the positions of Schlesinger and of the military...."

"Attacks on Schlesinger Hurt Kissinger"

Rightist <u>Parisien-Libere</u>, saying the months of investigation and the Watergate Committee report seemed to clear President Nixon of all allegations, observed that "the American public's weariness with Watergate does not explain everything," and continued:

"Even more symptomatic appears to be the shifting of responsibility from the President to his adviser, Secretary of State Kissinger. While the President is less and less involved, the Secretary of State is more and more so."

Noting the alleged Kissinger involvement in the wiretapping controversy the paper declared:

"His relative failure in Moscow in the negotiations on nuclear disarmament and the attacks which he has launched against his colleague at Defense in this connection have only increased the Secretary of State's difficulties."

No. 88

"Kissinger Is More Vulnerable"

State-run French television's second network last night spoke of "an enigma in Washington" in reporting that Mr. Kissinger might resign, a possibility it said "would have been unbelievable six months ago." It stated:

"There is a feeling now that Nixon may survive Watergate, but that Kissinger's prestige has somewhat declined. He has not yet had his last say, but he is more vulnerable."

London: "Nixon Belatedly to Kissinger's Aid"

British papers yesterday and today carried Washington correspondent reports of a "rift" in the Administration.

There was limited discussion of the outlook for detente.

Secretary Simon's travels drew factual treatment.

Washington correspondent Richard Beeston of the conservative <u>Daily Telegraph</u> today reported that "President Nixon has belatedly come to the aid of Dr. Henry Kissinger by admitting to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee his own responsibility for the wire-tapping of officials and journalists.

"The move came at a time of growing speculation in Washington that a rift between Nixon and Kissinger could lead to the Secretary of State's resignation."

"Differences Over Europe and Japan Trips"

The sister <u>Sunday Telegraph</u> carried a front-page dispatch by correspondent David Adamson reporting "growing concern...that the rift between President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger has widened to such an extent that the Secretary of State may resign.

"The latest difference between the two men is reported to be over the White House announcement last week that the President was considering trips to Europe and Japan this year. Dr. Kissinger was not told in advance of any such plans. He is also said by knowledgeable sources to be upset by Mr. Nixon's apparent refusal to discuss his demand for vindication in the wire-tap controversy."

No. 88

"The Inducements of Detente"

In the independent London <u>Sunday Times</u>, Washington correspondent Henry Brandon discussed aspects of detente following his return from the Moscow summit:

"To what extent China is a complicating factor in reaching a Soviet-American agreement to curb the nuclear arms race was not made clear by Mr. Brezhnev. It became clear, though, that the kind of weapons program that may look prudent from Washington looks intimidating in Moscow and vice versa...

"The Soviet Union, as seen from the inside, looks less powerful than from Washington, where the missiles loom largest, and one is also more aware of the reasons for the Soviet inferiority complex. It makes one even wonder how far the regime, with the power of ideology declining, can go in loosening its rigid controls in the interest of detente.

"Still, there are many obvious reasons why detente offers inducements to both sides, however hard it is to define its essence."

"Simon Follow-up to Nixon in Egypt"

The liberal Guardian reported today from Cairo that "in a follow-up to President Nixon's Egyptian visit...Mr. Simon is laying the framework for American financial aid for Egypt's postwar economic recovery and opening avenues for U.S. investment."

Rome: Effect of Ehrlichman Verdict

Italian media concentrated foreign coverage over the weekend on the potential effect on President Nixon's position of the Ehrlichman verdict.

New York correspondent Ugo Stille of independent-conservative Corriere della Sera of Milan wrote yesterday, "Ehrlichman's conviction has negative psychological and political effects on Nixon, who realizes that his position has been seriously weakened in the impeachment battle."

Washington correspondent Vittorio Zucconi of left-of-center <u>La Stampa</u> of Turin stated yesterday that "Ehrlichman's conviction is a serious threat to Nixon..." He concluded, "In a fundamentally democratic country, even when it is upset at the top it can find the strength in its judiciary and its free press to defeat the 'arrogance of power.'"

"Nixon Exculpates Kissinger"

Correspondent Mauro Lucentini, in a New York dispatch headed "Wiretapping--Nixon Exculpates Kissinger," wrote today in independent Messaggero of Rome:

"Nixon's initiative comes after publication of the Senate report and after Ehrlichman's conviction. These events have weakened Nixon's position...

"Kissinger is the last sheet anchor for Nixon. He is the man who through his successful foreign policy enables Nixon to counterbalance his loss of prestige in some measure. Hence, this is an appropriate intervention by the President, who tried to save Kissinger from the general wreck of his Administration."

"Conceptual Breakthrought Unattainable"

Manlio Brosio, Liberal Party senator and former General Secretary of NATO, wrote Saturday in middle-of-the-road <u>Il Giornale</u> of Milan:

"...Kissinger's 'conceptual breakthrough' will remain unattainable. Much the same can be said of detente, which would be... another illusion if seen as something to be negotiated and achieved today or tomorrow through the reconciliation of different systems. It is known that in the Soviet view detente is like passive coexistence, an uninterrupted struggle, but without war."

Simon Trip and Nixon Commitment

Secretary Simon's trip was factually covered. Several commentators saw it as confirmation of the President's commitment to cooperate with leading countries in the Middle East.

Hamburg: "After Nixon Trip, Moscow Seeks Partner in Europe"

Right-center <u>Die Welt</u> of Hamburg today declared that "after Nixon's departure from Moscow it became apparent that the Federal Republic of Germany had again shifted more into the field of vision of Moscow's Western policy." It speculated that "this concentration on the FRG might represent preparation for the Brezhnev-Schmidt meeting tentatively set for November."

Left-center Frankfurter Rundschau declared that "because of the meager results of the Nixon visit, the Kremlin is seeking a partner in Europe more urgently than ever." It said that it was not by accident that during the visit of French Foreign Minister Sauvagnargues to Moscow, Pravda devoted a lengthy article to praise of Bonn's "realistic attitude" toward European security. It said that "the Sauvagnargues visit has increased Soviet fears that France does not favor a super-summit to climax the CSCE, "and judged:

"In the Moscow-Paris-Bonn triangle, the Kremlin is again placing more reliance on Bonn. And that is particularly worth noting in view of the forthcoming visit to the USSR by Chancellor Schmidt."

"West Should Pare Demands"

Independent Koelner Stadt-Anzeiger of Cologne, calling the CSCE "the Geneva poker game," declared that both "East and West have strengths and weaknesses" in the negotiations, and said:

"That is why a solution that is reasonably satisfactory to all concerned can only be expected if the West uses the summer pause to reduce its demands to the minimum, and if the Kremlin uses the same pause to think twice and gain the courage to reach accommodations...."

Vienna: "Action Behind Europe's Back?"

Chief editor Otto Schulmeister of independent <u>Die Presse</u> of Vienna observed on Saturday, "Anyone who followed Kissinger's lightning tour through Europe is puzzled because suddenly the early conclusion of the Geneva conference and the proclamation of European security at a summit meeting are declared to be the most important matters in the world. "He asked:

"What has caused the Americans, particularly an astute political thinker such as Kissinger, to confirm the position of the Soviet Union and to ignore the concerns of the people of the divided Old World?"

He concluded that "it is likely that the forced conclusion of the security conference is designed to speed up the process of disengagement initiated by Nixon and Kissinger in order to get ahead with the dialogue with Moscow.... It could well be that understanding will be reached behind Europe's back."

"The Overall Importance of Moscow Summit"

Chief editor Alfons Dalma of the Austrian national radio said Saturday that the lack of spectacular results at Moscow "may have been a disappointment for headline writers, but does not detract from the overall importance of the meeting What counts is that both leaders "want to keep events and developments under control and to continue cooperation where it is possible and feasible."

Zurich: "Adjusting to Superpower Wishes on CSCE"

Prestigious Neue Zuercher Zeitung of Zurich reported on Saturday that "the Bonn foreign office is confident about completing CSCE" and added:

"Bonn, for its part, is prepared to reappraise Western demands in order to shift our essentials and in certain cases forgo positions previously considered not negotiable. In this way the Government adjusts to Nixon's and Brezhnev's wish for early completion of the CSCE."

Tokyo: U.S. Global Strategy and Nixon Visit

Japanese papers anticipating the arrival of Ambassador Hodgson cited his appointment as evidence of U.S. intention to strengthen ties with its allies.

Moderately conservative Sankei of Tokyo said that part of the Administration's global strategy was "seeking from its allies the establishment of 'a fair system of sharing responsibilities."

Moderate Mainichi suggested that Mr. Hodgson's "important task" will be to try "to ensure that his country's leader understands the opinions and positions of the other country. We hope that this will apply to the problem of President Nixon's visit to Japan..."

The paper declared that 'the U.S. Government's policy toward Japan has shown a notable tendency to force its stand on this country on economic, trade and other matters.... This has given the impression that the U.S. does not pay much attention to the conditions and contentions of the other side."

Tel Aviv: Kissinger, Soviets and Palestine

A byliner in independent Maariv of Tel Aviv, speculating that "the U.S. fears the USSR might make commitments to Arafat's organization in the course of his forthcoming visit to Moscow," declared today:

"Secretary Kissinger is about to hold contacts with the Soviet Union to influence it against exploiting the Palestinian situation... since to do so might upset the political basis for the Geneva conference, which had been set up with Moscow as one of the sponsors..."

Baghdad: "Simon Against Arab Unity"

Baghdad radio said on Friday that 'observers believe that the purpose of Mr. Simon's scheduled visit to certain Arab capitals is to specify the demands that have to be met rather than to seek information.

"This is regarded as a continuation of the plotting against Arab unity, something that certain Arab regimes welcome and provide with facilities in return for a handful of ambiguous and indefinite U.S. promises."

Jiddah: "Historic" Simon Trip

Commenting today on Secretary Simon's current Middle East visit, <u>al-Medina al-Munwara</u> of Jiddah called it an attempt to strengthen "the foundations laid by the recent summit Arab-American contacts, aimed at restoring America's equilibrium in the Middle East."

<u>Ukaz</u>, in an article headed "The Big Hope," said today that the Simon tour might indicate a turning point in the area's history, as well as in U.S.-Arab relations, since it had been termed "a truly historical moment in the history of Middle Eastern countries."

Cairo: "Simon Trip Could Be Landmark"

Cairo radio yesterday cited semiofficial al-Ahram as saying the Simon visit to the Middle East "could well be a landmark on the path of a U.S. contribution to the fulfillment of Egypt's goals of reconstruction and development, and to the rebuilding of its economy..."

On Saturday the radio quoted the editor of the weekly Akhbar al-Yawm as saying, "America may replace the Soviet Union in delivering machinery to Egypt if the Russians default on their previous pledges of economic aid." He said Mr. Simon would discuss this topic in Cairo.

The radio also reported yesterday that Cairo's <u>al-Akhbar</u> said "U.S.-Palestinian contacts have actually taken place during the past weeks in more than one European and African capital to prepare for 'high-level' contacts which are to take place soon between the two sides."

Tripoli: Qaddafi on Palestine Question

Tripoli's ARNA news agency reported on Saturday that Colonel Qaddafi told a French television crew that President Nixon's recent Middle East trip 'is not seen as a result of the crossing of the Suez Canal. It was a result of the outbreak of fighting and the undecided situation that followed the fighting.'

He said further, "I consider the U.S.-Arab relationship illegitimate. It is like an illicit marriage. Mr. Kissinger cannot return the Palestinians to their homes."

Nairobi: Kissinger as Mediator of African Issues?

The <u>Sunday Post</u> carried an article by a leading East African political scientist, Ali A. Mazrui, holding that Secretary Kissinger's credentials as a peacemaker qualify him as the logical mediator of the nettlesome issues of Southern Africa. He called the area "the one part of the world which needs a miracle worker before the worst comes the worst," and said that "the Kissinger magic could accelerate the pace" of negotiations between Portugal and the liberation fighters of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau since "his influence on the Portuguese is potentially great."

Dr. Mazrui added, "Another Southern African issue on which the Kissinger magic might work is the future of Zambia."

Rio de Janeiro: "Superpowers Set Bad Example"

Moderate <u>Jornal do Brasil</u> of Rio de Janeiro asserted Friday that the "only positive aspect of the Nixon-Brezhnev Moscow talks was in the fact that they had had conversations...

"In the wake of the two superpowers' bad example, a sort of atomic festival can be seen throughout the world. France, China, India and even Great Britain continue their nuclear tests... It is mandatory for mankind's physical survival to establish international order."

Moscow: "Detente Has Passed the Test"

Detente continued to be the subject of Moscow media output praising the Nixon-Brezhnev summit as an important step forward in easing major power tensions.

TASS reported on Friday that <u>Izvestia</u> carried a lengthy commentary by Georgiy Arbatov, Director of the U.S. Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, citing the summit as proof 'that the process of normalization and improvement of relations between the two biggest powers, on which world peace depends so much, continues successfully.''

It quoted Arbatov as writing that "the new features that have developed in Soviet-American relations in recent years have already passed a certain test. The foes of peace hoped that detente would fail in face of these trials and that Soviet-American relations would be thrown back to the times of the cold war.

No. 88

"But things did not work out the way they expected. Detente has not only passed the test but also continues to gain in strength."

The report said Arbatov named the "active enemies of detente" as "the military-industrial complex, extremist imperialist reaction, Zionist circles, professional anti-Communists and anti-Sovietists of all hues and shades."

Pravda on Jackson Visit to Peking

TASS on Saturday reported a <u>Pravda</u> comment on Senator Jackson's visit to Peking which it said drew the conclusion that "the fact that ultra-rightwingers in U.S. foreign policy are looking for allies in Peking nowadays bears out that the stand of the Chinese leadership on international affairs aids the most reactionary and bellicose imperialist circles in their arms drive policy and attempts at reversing historical development back to the cold war times."

Radio Cites Ray Cline on Detente Dangers

On a Radio Moscow broadcast in Polish Friday evening, a commentator attacked views attributed to Ray Cline, former director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, in a Washington Post interview last week.

The commentator declared that from the interview "it transpires that the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings are to be blamed for everything. Allegedly detente is a dangerous illusion that compels Americans to throw caution to the winds, that causes a general weakening of Americans...According to Ray Cline, the most dangerous issue rests in the different conceptions of detente held by the Soviet Union and the U.S."

The commentator asserted that Mr. Cline advocated "a kind of detente" that would make it possible "to proceed without interference to the disintegration and undermining of the Soviet socialist system," but that "the current detente is an objective historical process which is not subject to the will of such an institution as the CIA. The recent U.S.-Soviet summit has proved that this process is gaining momentum despite the ill-intentioned arguments of its opponents."

No. 88

11